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YALE LECTURES ON THE
RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

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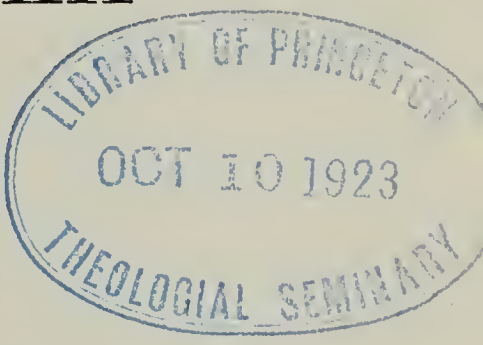
YALE LECTURES



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In May, 1900, Honorable William E. Dodge, of New York, made provision for lectures before the students of Yale University, to be known as the "Yale Lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship" and to be on a "topic whose understanding will contribute to the formation of an intelligent public sentiment, of high standards of the duty of a Christian citizen, and of habits of action to give effect to these sentiments and these standards."

Having been honored by selection to deliver the first course of these lectures I have felt that it was fitting to present a few plain, simple, commonplace truths in respect to those responsibilities, thus laying, as it were, a foundation upon which succeeding lecturers might in a more ambitious way develop some particular form of responsibility, or some particular appeal to noble action. With this in view I have prepared the following lectures.

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AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

I

OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Out of all the relations into which human beings enter, or are brought, there spring obligations—obligations resting upon each party to the relationship, yet varying in the specific duties imposed with the character of the relationship and the place each occupies therein.

In many relationships the existence of obligations is obvious and universally recognized. In others the fact of obligation is not always conceded, frequently not appreciated, and not infrequently ignored. Thus, no one doubts that when man and woman enter into the marriage relation certain obligations are thereby imposed upon each. All recognize that there immediately springs up and continues during the existence of that relation a mutuality of obligation, although the character of the duties

imposed upon each by virtue thereof may be different. A business partnership creates, as all readily perceive and acknowledge, certain obligations on the part of each to the other. A distinct disregard by either party to a marriage, or by either member of a partnership, of the obligations created by such relationship receives general condemnation.

There are other relationships, not so close and intimate, which also cast obligations upon each party thereto, and yet the fact and significance of those obligations often make little impression on the parties bound thereby. We owe certain duties to our neighbors, but upon how many of us the burden of those duties rests lightly or is wholly forgotten? In a general way we say that we ought to be neighborly, and yet too often all that we do is to let our neighbors alone, and ask them to let us alone. Who is our neighbor? is a frequent question. The Great Teacher answered it in the story of the Good Samaritan, as the one we meet in life whom we can help and do help. It may also be affirmed that there is one universal relation-

ship in that we are all members of one great human family, and that out of that relationship spring obligations which no right-thinking man will ignore. It was a noble utterance of the ancient Roman, "nihil humanum mihi alienum est."

As I stated, the mere fact of relationship carries obligations, and it matters not whether that relationship is one voluntarily entered into, or one in which we are placed without our consent. Marriage is a relation voluntarily entered into. On the other hand, a child is born into a family, and without its consent the relation of child to parent is established, and yet none the less do obligations spring from that relationship. We are not only born into families but also into citizenship in a nation, and so long as the relationship springing out of that birth continues there are obligations resting upon us as citizens which cannot be ignored. These obligations are the responsibilities of citizenship.

One may at the same time be subject to many relationships, and sometimes the obligations

springing out of those different relationships apparently antagonize each other. One may be under a relationship of marriage, of partnership, of parent, of citizen, and the varied duties springing from those several relationships may seem to conflict. He may have to determine which carries the higher obligation; but the possibility of conflict does not alter the fact that there are duties springing from each of those relationships.

Again, many of the obligations which spring from the relationships of life are not enforcible by human law or the decrees of a court. They are called imperfect obligations because, as said with gentle satire, law which is the perfection of reason takes no notice of them. They are cognizable only in the forum of conscience. But ofttimes they are felt to be the most sacred, and this partly because they appeal alone to the higher element in our nature and have no sanction in exterior force. Take the relation of parent and child. Municipal law enforces—perhaps not always satisfactorily—at any rate it attempts to enforce the obliga-

tion of the parent to care for the minor child. It is certainly one of those obligations which the law recognizes, no matter how poorly it may succeed in its enforcement; but when the child has arrived at maturity and the parent passed into the weakness of old age then that high moral obligation which rests upon the child to care for the failing parent is one which the law does not recognize or attempt to enforce. "Over the hill to the poorhouse" expresses the imperfection of human law, and yet to every right-thinking person the obligation to care for the aged parent is as sacred as any. No sweeter picture in life can be seen than that of son or daughter who, in memory of corresponding care in days of infancy, toils through the years of manhood or womanhood to care for the parent in the failing strength of old age. Take another illustration: One obligation of husband and wife to each other is that of helpfulness and courtesy. But if the treatment of either to the other only comes short of cruelty the law takes no notice of it. Still who does not feel that the inability or inatten-

tion of the law detracts in no degree from the sacredness of this obligation? Even the very-much neglected courtesies called for by the temporary relationship of fellow-passengers in a street-car are in the truest and highest sense duties, and duties whose faithful discharge carries, like virtue, its own reward. Indeed, may I not stop to say that among the things which make for the sweetness and real glory of one's life is a keen recognition of those obligations which are outside the domain of law.

Again, a fact worthy of notice in respect to all obligations is that the more perfectly one discharges them the greater the blessings which come from the relationship out of which they spring. The mother who is most faithful to the child during its early days finds in the future years of its life the highest reward of motherhood. "These are my jewels," cried the mother of the Gracchi. The ripened manhood and womanhood of her children become her crown of joy and rejoicing, and their affection and tender care are the sweetest comfort that a mother ever knows. A partner who is

most faithful to his partnership obligations will find that partnership most fruitful of result. The neighbor who is most neighborly feels, as no one else, the blessing of being and having a neighbor. And yet it is one of the paradoxes of life that in order to attain the full blessings of a discharge of obligation, such discharge must not be with a thought of purchase, with the hope of compensation, but from the pure sense of obligation. You cannot secure the great rewards of life by working for them. There is an unfailing truth in the declaration, "he that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life shall save it." Duty done because it is duty carries the crown and the laurel. Indeed, there is no more magnificent word in the English language than "duty." As Whittier says:

> **"There's life alone in duty done,**
> **And rest alone in striving."**

The existence of relationship, at least in cases in which both parties are competent to act intelligently, carries with it a mutuality of

obligation. The husband, by virtue of the relationship of marriage, owes certain duties to the wife. Conversely, the wife owes duties to the husband. The mere fact of the relationship imposes obligations on each. So, in the case of parent and child, as soon as the child comes to an age of understanding there is a measure of obligation resting upon him to the parent, as well as upon the parent to him. Now, the fact that either party to a relationship may wholly ignore the obligations created thereby does not necessarily release the other from the performance of his duties. Indeed, sometimes the dereliction of the one seems to increase or at least emphasize the duty of the other. There is often the not unreasonable expectation that greater faithfulness on the part of the one will renew the neglected fidelity of the other. Take the familiar example of husband and wife. Delinquency on the part of one does not excuse the other from fidelity. It may be that no rule can be stated which will fit all cases, and yet the possibility of restoring the helpfulness of the relation and

re-establishing the sense of duty on the part of the delinquent is always to be considered. Who can number the multitude of cases in which an increased fidelity on the part of one has brought the other back to a sense of duty? Indeed, such restoration is not infrequently a blessed result of duty done. It is obviously a case of salvage. Every one familiar with Admiralty knows that the compensation in such cases is large and generous, and so the salvage which one party to any relationship in life ought to receive and does receive on the restoration of the other through his or her increased fidelity, is among the great compensations of life. He that saveth a soul from death shall hide a multitude of sins.

While all relationships impose obligations on the parties thereto, the character and force of those obligations vary with the nature of the relationship. Some are stronger and more important than others; some more continuous in their force, and some the performance of which affects a larger number of persons. In order, therefore, to a full understanding of the scope

and significance of such obligations it is not enough to determine the fact of a relationship; it is necessary to inquire into its nature and conditions, and consider whether it is mainly personal, or one directly or indirectly affecting many.

With these preliminary observations, I pass on to say that among the relationships in life out of which spring obligations is that of the individual to the nation or tribe of which he is a citizen or member. And here I start with the broad proposition that whatever may be the position, capacity, or surroundings of the individual, and whatever may be the character of his nation or tribe, or its fidelity to its corresponding obligations, he is always under obligations to that nation or tribe. A member of the most savage tribe in the centre of Africa owes certain duties to it and to its chief, and the same is true of the citizen of the most civilized nation in the world. While there is a similarity in the nature of those obligations, yet it is clear that their significance and reach vary largely with the conditions in which the

individual is placed and the character of the tribe or nation to which he belongs. Contrast, for instance, the obligations of an uneducated savage to his tribe with those of the President of Yale University to the United States. There may be like duty of service and obedience, and yet the obligations in the one case are much more important and far-reaching than in the other, and of greater significance to the individual and to the race. Indeed, it may be laid down as a general proposition that the higher the status of the two parties to any relationship the more far-reaching are the obligations which spring therefrom, and the more significant and important is the full discharge of those obligations. The manner in which the citizen of a savage tribe discharges his obligations to that tribe, whether well or ill, means less for the general weal or woe than the way in which a citizen of the United States discharges his obligations. And it is because in the one case the parties to the relationship are of more importance to the well-being of the world than those in the other.

Of all the obligations of citizen to nation none is greater than those of one of our citizens to the Republic. The responsibilities of citizenship are nowhere more sacred and solemn. To impress this truth is the purpose of these lectures. Let me notice some of the facts which justify the assertion. First, this Republic occupies a unique and prominent position among the nations. It may be there are other nations with more territory or population, larger military and naval forces, a greater accumulation of wealth, or a longer history, but not one whose history has been more significant, in whose present the world is more interested, and above whose future there spans a brighter rainbow of hope and promise for humanity. This is a government of and by and for the people. It rests upon the thought that to each individual belong the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It affirms that the nation exists not for the benefit of one man, or set of men, but to secure to each and all the fullest opportunity for personal development. It stands

over against the governments of the Old World in that there the thought is that the individual lives for the nation; here, that the nation exists for the individual. It was established in a place, at a time, and under circumstances peculiarly unique and fortunate—conditions which can never be repeated, and if the effort here made to establish popular government fails we may well believe that the failure will be final and irretrievable. As Webster said: "If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fails, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth."

It was established by the most earnest and resolute men of the most virile races the world has ever developed. The place was a new continent, separated by three thousand miles of

boisterous ocean from the nations and civilization of the Old World, at a time when the peoples and the nations of that world were beginning to be moved by forces which soon involved all of them in prolonged conflict. They who formed the Republic were too few in number and too poor in resources to appeal very strongly to the greed of the distant monarchs. They were by themselves and they were left to themselves. Their leaders were men of clear conviction, resolute and conscientious. They were not blind to the lessons of the past and they had unswerving faith in the possibilities of the future. They were reasonable radicals and progressive conservatives. They were not dazzled by power or glory or wealth. Coming here under the impulse of strong convictions they meant to establish the best home for man on the face of the earth. Thus situated and thus protected the Republic grew in numbers and wealth until it became strong enough to resist the attack of any nation, and now is so strong as to be a recognized leader among the nations. It has blazed

the way for popular government. Other nations have followed in its footsteps and established like governments. Yet none has become its equal; something has always been lacking. Either while the form has been Republican the substance has been despotism, or else the people have had no respect for the form. Elections, instead of being settlements securing stability of rulers and confirming matters of policy for stated periods, have been simply invitations to revolution, while neither life nor property has been sacred.

Far be it for me to affirm that we have lived up to our ideals. I am making no Fourth of July speech. On the contrary, our history has disclosed many shortcomings. We have not been free from the weaknesses of human nature. But, notwithstanding all our failures, nowhere has there been a closer living to the ideals of popular government, and nowhere are the possibilities of future success greater. If, therefore, the chief object of national existence is to secure to each individual the fullest protection in all inalienable rights and the fullest

opportunity for personal advancement, and if this nation has come nearer than any other to the realization of this ideal, and if by virtue of its situation, its population, its development, it has the greatest promise of a full realization of this ideal in the future, surely it must be that the obligations of its citizens to it are nowhere surpassed.

Again, the significance of the responsibilities of citizenship in this Republic also appears in the fact that here each man is a ruler. It goes without saying that where there is a single ruler, whether the chieftain of a savage tribe or the monarch of a civilized nation, the duty of that ruler to his tribe or nation is one of supreme importance. Its welfare depends largely upon his actions, and as so much rests upon his actions by just so much is increased his duty of rendering the best service. The pure and noble life of Queen Victoria has exalted the British nation. Now, government of the people, that government which exists among us, means that each man is a ruler; each shares the responsibility of government. And if each

man is a ruler then upon each rests the obligation of a ruler. That there are many rulers may diminish the effect of the separate action of any single one, but it does not change the fact that upon each rests the obligation of ruler. Upon him lies the burden of government. As he acts so the nation acts. And there is no man in this country who can say he has nothing to do with the action of the government. Le Grand Monarque, in the arrogance of his power, is said to have exclaimed, "The State! I am the State." With him the thought was that the whole purpose and life of the State centred in himself. In a different but equally true and a far nobler sense every American can say, "The Nation! I am the Nation." And that fact of personal responsibility, that sense of governmental duty, gives strength and importance to the responsibilities of the American citizen.

Still again, this is a christian nation. Not that the people have made it so by any legal enactment or that there exists an established church, but christian in the sense that the

dominant thought and purpose of the nation accord with the great principles taught by the founder of christianity. Historically it has developed along the lines of that religion. Its first settlements were in its name, and while every one is welcome, whether a believer in christianity or in any other religion, or in no religion, yet the principles of christianity are the foundations of our social and political life. It needs no judicial decision to determine this fact. The commission to Columbus was from "Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, king and queen of Castile," and recited that "it is hoped that by God's assistance some of the continents and islands in the ocean will be discovered." The first colonial grant from the crown of England, in 1584, authorizing the grantee to enact statutes, provided that "they be not against the true christian faith now professed in the church of England." The first charter of Virginia, in 1606, recited that it was granted in hopes of the "propagating of christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowl-

edge and worship of God." The Mayflower compact declared that its colonial settlement was "for the glory of God and for the advancement of the christian faith." The fundamental orders of Connecticut recited that they were established "to maintain and preserve the liberty and the purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess." Running through other colonial charters, in the Declaration of Independence, in the Constitutions of the various States, in the proceedings in courts, and in those official declarations which are the manifestations of the organized will of the nation, there is the constant recognition of the fact that christianity is the underlying thought of our national life.

It is in that sense as truly a christian nation as is England with its Established Church, or as is Turkey a Mohammedan nation with the Koran as its officially declared sacred book. Indeed, the very fact that it has no Established Church makes one of its highest credentials to the title of a christian nation. The great thought of the Master was that over the human

soul there was no earthly sovereign. There is no truth which shines more clearly through the gospels and the epistles than that of the independence of the human soul. In that great forum where are settled the destinies of time and eternity each one stands alone with his conscience. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." That nation which seeks to enforce or support a religion by legislative enactment fails to recognize the immortal truth contained in the Master's words, "my kingdom is not of this world." The very tolerance which some over-sensitive people deprecate is one of the best evidences that in the framing of our Constitution and the foundation of our nation there was recognized that truth which underlies christianity, to-wit, that love not law is the supreme thing. We enforce no religion; but the voice of the nation from its beginning to the present hour is in accord with the religion of Christ. Now, whatever else may be said of christianity one thing is undisputed and indisputable—that christian nations manifest the highest forms of

civilized life, and that among professedly christian nations those in which the principles of christianity have the utmost freedom and power occupy the first place. And surely nowhere has christianity such freedom and power as in this Republic.

We have, therefore, a nation which gives to each citizen the most of liberty and affords the best field for his development, which casts upon each the responsibility of a ruler, and one in which that religion, whose principles are most potent in the perfection of human civilization, has the largest freedom and power. Is it strange, therefore, that this nation is the one around which the hopes of humanity cluster? Its continuance, its growth, its perfection, mean the most for the race. Does it not follow that upon its citizens rest the most solemn responsibilities of citizenship?

But further, special dangers and difficulties attend the development of the Republic; dangers and difficulties which grow out of the very peculiarities of its national life, and in the solution of which each individual is a real and potent factor.

In the first place, there are no restraints upon popular action except such as the citizens themselves have imposed, and there is the ever-present danger that, conscious that these restraints are self-imposed, the people in some time of passion will disregard them—break down the constitutional compact made between each and all, and do that which cannot be done without trespassing upon rights secured by such compact. To continue an orderly administration, to abide by the Constitution and laws, and to seek redress of wrongs, real or supposed, only in the manner therein prescribed, are among the duties and triumphs of popular government. There is nothing so wicked as a mob; nothing more cruel and unreasonable. The long lines of burning cars seen in Chicago at the time of the Pullman strike, the stripping of a woman of her clothing in St. Louis merely because she rode in a street-car belonging to an obnoxious company, and the flames which recently rose up around a burning negro in Leavenworth are but illustrations. There is no one so dangerous as the demagogue, who

cries "we, the people," and urges a disregard, by force, of laws and the rights secured by those laws. Fortunately we have escaped the whirligigs of revolution which have attended the efforts of many peoples to establish popular government. The sense of order, respect for law, and self-restraint, which thus far have characterized the American people are among the sure prophecies of permanent popular government, and woe be to the man who seeks to influence the passions and forcibly overthrow the restraints of law.

In the second place, we face the dangers which come from an heterogeneous population, a not inconsiderable fraction of which is of peoples with no conception of that which is the only true liberty—liberty regulated by law—peoples who look upon every policeman as an enemy, every sheriff as a tyrant, and all the forms of law as so many processes of despotism. The original races which founded this nation are still dominant; and yet if one were dropped into some of the streets of New York or Boston he might wonder if he were in

America or Ireland. If he passed through many of the mining districts of Pennsylvania he might fancy himself in Hungary or Italy. In certain parts of Chicago he would believe himself in Bohemia or Poland; and the great Northwest is a second Scandinavia. To mingle these heterogeneous elements in one homogeneous American people, and to so mingle that the good qualities of each shall be preserved and the bad qualities of each cast out is one of the great tasks of the American people.

In the third place, we are in the presence of those dangers which come from unexampled material prosperity. As a nation we are growing marvellously rich. More and more we hear of the discontents which arise from the unequal distribution of this wealth. On the one hand is to be seen extravagance and luxury, with its often attendant vice; on the other, the bitterness which comes from envy or a sense of wrong. These are dangers to the Republic.

As against these and all like them the individual citizen is the Republic's strength and hope. He may become a power. He has a

duty. He should so live and act that it may be said of him, as of Wellington:

"That tower of strength,
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew."

Upon him rests the burden of overcoming these dangers. He may not transfer responsibility to a government. He is the government. It is the citizen's privilege, his duty, his glory, to stand firmly against all movements and efforts to weaken the force of law, to disturb social order, or to tear down the Stars and Stripes and substitute the red flag of the Anarchist.

To fuse all heterogeneous elements in the crucible of national life, and to so fuse them as to leave out all that is base and unworthy, require the powerful solvents of education and religion. These solvents are found in the individual. To him, therefore, we must look for the force which will cast out the folly of regarding law as the enemy of liberty, which will put an end to habits formed under despotism and unsuited to popular government, and

which will unite in one common flow all those thoughts, purposes, aspirations, and activities of the various peoples and races gathering on our soil which mean well for the race and for the glory of the nation.

Amid all the displays of wealth, all the social inequalities which spring therefrom, the individual may and must stand as a constant witness to the unfailing truth that the life is more than meat, the man more than the accident of riches. "Am I my brother's keeper" finds its most magnificent affirmative answer in the duty of the American citizen to the nation. Picture the glory of this Republic if in each individual life were fully disclosed respect for law, taste for justice, regard for the rights of others, remembrance of the poor and afflicted, encouragement of education, the helping hand to everything that is true, beautiful and good. The ages will see the fulness and glory of the picture. The future will not disappoint us. The loved poet is the prophet, clear-visioned and true, when he sings:

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee."

GOOD CHARACTER A PRIMARY OBLIGATION

II

THE MAINTENANCE OF A GOOD CHARACTER A PRIMARY OBLIGATION OF EVERY CITIZEN

I endeavored to develop in my former lecture the thought that there were responsibilities resting upon every citizen of every nation by virtue of his citizenship, and that none were greater than those which rested upon a citizen of this Republic. If it be true that the responsibility of an American citizen is greater than that of a citizen of any other nation it becomes correspondingly important to know what action on his part such responsibility calls for. To say that an individual is responsible, and not define what his responsibilities are, to say that he owes duties and obligations and not make clear the nature and extent of those duties and obligations is to leave the matter less than half disclosed. May he by a single act discharge the full measure of his

responsibility and relieve himself from all further obligations? If not, what must he do, and how often must he act?

It is one of the weaknesses of our nature to desire to be rid entirely of obligations, or, if not rid entirely, to discharge them by a single act. We would be benevolent, charitable, but would gladly give many dollars in a single sum if thereby we could cancel all our obligations in that direction. We would be religious, but how many would fain limit their religion, like the putting on of a clean shirt and the wearing of the best clothes, to Sunday? We all look forward hopefully to an entrance into heaven, but wish there was some kindly power who could sell us a ticket, receive the price and end the transaction at once. This having evermore over us a responsibility, one which never fails in its demands, and which continues until our latest breath, is something from which we willingly turn.

I wish to impress upon you this afternoon the thought that the responsibility of a citizen is something which, like the heartbeat, stays

with him through life, the care of which is essential to his own highest development, and in the constant recognition of which is alone found the successful life of the nation. And in order to develop this thought I must notice some of the many obligations which rest upon the citizen; some of the duties imposed upon him. I use the plural nouns, because it is a mistake to suppose that there is but a single obligation or a single duty to be performed. No one can say "I have voted at every election, and in so doing I have discharged my entire duty to the Republic"; or "I have served faithfully as a soldier in the army, and so have fulfilled the whole measure of my obligation to the nation," any more than a parent can say "I have fed my child, and thus have discharged the full measure of my duty to him."

The first matter which I shall notice is what may be called the obligation of personal character. In other words, each citizen owes to the nation the duty of maintaining in himself a high, clean, moral character. His personal morality is a debt to the nation. Indeed, it is

a part of the nation's morality. I mention this first because it is of primary importance, an obligation which is binding upon all citizens, and binding at all times and in all places. There is no break or cessation in its force, and there are no conditions or circumstances under or by which any citizen is released from its demands.

It is the one duty which underlies all others; with it we may hope to realize something of the greatness and nobility of citizenship in this republic; without it the loudest voices of assumed patriotism are but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

What is good character? It is righteousness in the soul. It is the shining jewel of life, that to which we all look up, which we all love and admire. It makes the chasm which separates man from the brute, the "great gulf fixed" which the brute cannot cross and the man ought not to cross. It is the link which binds him to the divine. In flesh we are brothers of the beast, living without thought; unmoved by conscience, ignorant of purity and

dying without hope or remorse. In nobility of soul, in elevation of character, we are heirs not merely of the ages but of eternity; we clasp hands with the Infinite and Eternal, and are bold to say "of thee, and thine."

One seldom sinks so low in the scale of being as not to have respect and admiration for the high and noble. He never becomes so far in love with his own vices as not to be touched with respect for him who has them not. "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold." We long for it ourselves, and we joy to see it in our homes, our friends, and in all with whom we are thrown in contact. With it heaven may begin on earth; without it death is not needed for admission to hell.

Who does not wish that death would bring him such tribute as this from an English poet to an English General?

> Strew not on the hero's hearse
> Garlands of a herald's verse:
> Let us hear no words of Fame
> Sounding loud a deathless name:

Tell us of no vauntful Glory
Shouting forth her haughty story.
All life long his homage rose
To far other shrine than those.
"In hoc signo," pale nor dim,
Lit the battle-field for him,
And the prize he sought and won,
Was the Crown for Duty done.

There is power also in character. I know there are many who think that it is enough to be smart; that brains are the only thing that count in this world; that you may live and act as you please; that you may safely get the better of others, by ways however crooked, provided they do not end in the penitentiary. I am not disposed to belittle the value of brains. I am not underwriting the idiot. I am aware that success often attends those who know nothing of the Golden Rule, and who remember only so much of the Decalogue as is framed in the penal statutes. I know there may be brilliancy going hand in hand with vice; and yet, after all, one of the strongest forces that make for individual success is character. Looking back through life at the multitudes I have known,

I have no hesitation in saying that the majority of the successful ones owe whatever of success they have attained as much if not more to their characters as to their brains. And by far the greater number of failures have been due not to lack of capacity, or even want of opportunity, but to the fact that when tested their characters failed, and they proved unworthy of confidence. So it is that character is not only the beautiful thing; it is the valuable thing.

And that which is true of the individual is also true of the nation. Its good character is its beauty and strength. If it is to be loved and honored it must be honest and just. It must stand firm against all wrong, and uphold every effort for right; hold evermore the even scales of justice and the strong hand of honesty.

That a nation, as such, has a character, and is known by it, is obvious. True, it is often said that a corporation has neither body to be kicked nor soul to be damned, and many seem to think that the organization of individuals into a corporate body creates an artificial

entity destitute of moral qualities. Doubtless many corporate acts proceed upon the theory that the acting body has no moral qualities, and can never be held delinquent in the forum of conscience. And that which is said of private corporations is also affirmed of that large corporate body called the nation; but both reason and history protest against such an assertion of moral poverty. The organization of individuals into a corporate body, whether small or great, local or national, is not a movement outside the domain of morals, does not eliminate the matter of character, does not create a mere machine like a steam-engine unaffected by conscience, but simply puts into an organic whole the combined consciences, characters and morality of all the individual members. You never would call that a temperance community, half of whose citizens went home every night intoxicated, and this notwithstanding the fact that its ordinances contained the finest body of temperance legislation ever written. Their actions would contradict their words. You would not think that a moral city on whose

every street were the gilded palaces of sin. You would not call that an honest community, none of whose citizens paid their debts, and this although it was full of lawyers; nor that a healthy place where only the doctors did a thriving business. Historically, we all know that nations as well as cities are spoken of as possessed of certain characteristics and accustomed to certain lines of actions, which characteristics and actions are simply manifestations of their characters.

It may be said that character is a personal matter, that the maintenance of one which is free from stain is the discharge of a duty to one's self, or, at most, only to one's family and friends, or to God. I do not question the force of the obligation in all these directions, but I assert that in addition thereto the making and keeping of a high and noble character is one of the duties of the individual to the nation, and to be numbered among the responsibilities of citizenship.

A nation may be regarded in a twofold aspect. In the one it is to be viewed as standing

over against the individual, an artificial entity separate and distinct from all its citizens, thus coming closely within the definition of a corporation, as given by Chief Justice Marshall; in the other, and a perfectly consistent aspect, it is to be regarded as an aggregation of individuals. In the one it is a unit; in the other a collection of units. In either case the moral element is the bright coloring of the picture. We speak of international law as a body of rules regulating the intercourse of nations. In this the nation is an artificial entity—an incorporeal being—a unit among nations, one whose conduct is to be regulated by certain rules adopted by the family of nations. This individuality, this singleness of national life, is as true of this Republic as of any other nation, and this whether we say, The United States of America *are,* or The United States of America *is.* The one expression simply indicates the Federal system under which the nation exists. A nation in its dealings with other nations is bound to certain rules of conduct which it is universally conceded should be founded upon

justice and righteousness. The declaration of scripture, "righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people," is a sound maxim of international law. Indeed, some writers have gone so far as to assert that such declaration is the foundation upon which that law rests, and that by it alone, and without regard to actual approval or practical recognition by the nations, may be determined whether a certain course of conduct has the sanction of international law. Be that as it may, the moral element in a nation's life, looking at it as one among many nations, is beyond dispute.

Again, while we look upon the nation in its relations to other nations and for the purpose of determining its international rights and duties as a unit, in the other aspect every nation or tribe is only an assemblage of many individuals. As in this aspect it is the aggregation of the lives and forces of all its citizens, so its character is the combined total of their characters. If they are all savages, the tribe or nation is itself a savage tribe or nation. If

all are civilized and enlightened the nation is civilized and enlightened. In other words, the nation is not simply the numerical aggregation of so many individuals, but is the combination of all the mental and moral characteristics of those individuals. That which can be affirmed of all the citizens may with equal truth be affirmed of the nation. You cannot disassociate the character of the nation and that of its citizens. You cannot have an ideally perfect nation, the citizens of which are thoroughly bad; and if all the citizens live up to the highest possibilities of their lives you may be sure that the nation of which they are citizens stands out before the world as one whose ideals are of the highest. A good man does not intentionally do a bad act. Ten good men acting together are equally honest, and so if all the citizens of a nation are animated by the one high purpose the acts of the nation will likewise be above the plane of intentional wrong.

Two things may be noticed of the obligation in respect to personal character: One, that it is universal; and the other, that it is continu-

ous. There are certain duties which rest upon some citizens and do not rest upon all. Thus, some are called upon to render military service; others to perform the functions of jurors; to discharge duties attaching to certain offices; and yet it cannot be said of all citizens of both sexes that they are alike amenable to all these obligations and called upon to render the same services. The varied conditions and circumstances of life impose certain duties upon some which are not cast upon others, but the obligation of personal character is one resting alike upon each and all. As one member of the body politic his individual character enters into the sum total of all characters, and thus goes to make up that of the nation.

It is also continuous, and this because human character is itself a continuous thing. It is not made up of one or many acts. Indeed, actions are but evidences thereof. We judge of a man's character by his conduct, although we know that the two are not always alike. Hypocrisy may exist. There may be not only a difference but an absolute antagonism be-

tween the two. And yet a noble character is sure to express itself in actions of a like nature. "By their fruits shall ye know them" is the best rule we have. And character is the thing of value, the enduring fact. It is continuous, is part of the life. And this is true both of the individual and the nation.

No one can excuse himself from his duty to the State to establish and maintain a good personal character on the plea that he is but one of a great multitude, and therefore his single life and character count for little or nothing. Doubtless the influence of one bad man is more obvious in a small than in a large society. If a community were composed of but ten persons, of whom half were good and the other half bad, who would not expect the latter half to make a powerful impression on the general life? While, on the other hand, if it were composed of a hundred and only five were bad the numerical predominance of the good would go far to establish a good character in the organized whole. But the presence of even a single bad man in any society is an influence

for evil. It is a blot on its character. A single flaw in a diamond detracts from its worth, and although the great mass of the crystal be perfectly pure yet the single flaw is always seen and discredits the value. If there be but one black sheep in a flock every passer-by notices that sheep, and so a single bad man in a community becomes an obvious element of disgrace. Nor is it a mere question of appearance. It is not simply that there is a flaw—a black sheep. The influence of that man is constantly for evil. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," and character is one of those potent things which, going out beyond the individual, touches for good or for ill all within its reach. No man liveth unto himself alone. We stamp our impress on the immediate community in which we dwell, and through that community affect for weal or woe the great nation of which we are a part. The inexperienced, the unwary, all become more or less affected by a bad man's influence, and over the community as a whole the shadow rests. So no man can say that he is but one in a thou-

sand and it matters not that he is vile, that his character is bad, for not only will his bad character cast a shadow but also will his influence reach and demoralize far and wide.

But one may say this is all very true of those who are rulers, who hold the offices, who are the leaders in society, whose opinions are quoted, whose power is felt, but as for me, I have neither office nor power, I am never mentioned in the papers, I live an unnoticed life, and therefore what difference does my character make in the national life. It is undoubtedly true that the higher the position a man holds, and the greater the influence he possesses, the more important is his good character to the community. All appreciate this. Corruption in the President or venality in the Supreme Court would be a terrible blow to the nation's good name. Licentiousness, if any exists, on the part of the nation's representatives, is carefully concealed; and Mr. Roberts, of Utah, appreciates the fact that even a Congressman is not permitted to have more than one wife at a time. High position carries with

it added responsibility. "*Noblesse oblige.*" Of him to whom ten talents were given ten talents additional were required. Yet it is equally true that he to whom a single talent was given was not excused for leaving that talent idle. No one, however humble, can relieve himself from responsibility. He may be but one out of many, but he is one, and contributes to make up the general character. He pours his breath into the social atmosphere, and if that breath be poisonous he to some extent contaminates the air. What would be the standing of this nation if only its presidents and judges were pure and honest? Does any one suppose that the character of the nation would be determined by the few holding those positions? Indeed, how can we expect that they who occupy representative places will continue pure and honest if the great mass of the people are not? If the atmosphere in which these few live is filled with poison can they escape its effect? Are they not in fact upheld and strengthened in good conduct by their surroundings of good character? Is not

the integrity of our officials largely owing to the integrity of the American people? I have been thirty-six years on the bench and no one, directly or indirectly, by word of mouth or letter, or in any other way, ever proposed, suggested, or intimated that any decision I might be called on to make would be for my benefit pecuniarily, politically, socially, or otherwise. If I had had any desire to do wrong I should have had to seek someone to corrupt me. In order to be tempted I should have had to invite the tempter, instead of waiting for the temptation. Would I have been able to say this if the great body of the people among whom my life has been cast had been corrupt? Could I have hoped to escape temptation to do wrong? So that, after all, the clean lives of those in position are not a little owing to the good character of those who place them there, and who support them there.

We are all proud of the fact that this Republic has maintained so high a character during the century of its existence. While there are doubtless many things in its history which

we wish were not there, yet we rejoice to believe that generally, both in its inner life and in its dealings with other nations, it has striven for those things which make for truth, justice, honesty and purity. While we are justly proud of all its material development, its increase in population, its growth in wealth, and in all those things which go to make up its outward tangible prosperity, we rejoice the more in that which it has done to uphold before the world ideals of the highest kind. We point to its efforts to meliorate the hardships of war, and all that it has done in the way of arbitration and peace; to that which it has done to protect its citizens against oppression and wrong, wherever they may have chanced to be; to all that it has spoken and done for liberty; to the grandeur of that civil war, waged to put an end to slavery within its borders; to its assumption of the burdens of war in behalf of a people struggling for liberty, a people bound to us by no ties of blood, yet so situated that action in their behalf was simply writing the blessed word *neighbor* into the vocabulary

of nations; and to countless other acts of lofty character, and are proud of our country. And let us ever remember in our rejoicing, that the sources and causes of every noble thing in our country's life are to be found in the thoughts and lives of individual citizens who have succeeded in transferring something of their own high characters into the life of the nation. And so remembering, let us ever strive to discharge one of the responsibilities of citizenship by maintaining in our own lives a like lofty character.

As a nation we stand face to face with a great fact. The century and more of our national life has been lived in a career of self-development, and with an isolation from other nations suggested by the words of wisdom in the farewell address of the Father of His Country. We have stood aloof from the great events of the other hemisphere, endeavoring to maintain a position of equal justice to all, but of equal separation from all, content to uphold that which we call the Monroe Doctrine, the separation and consecration of this continent

to those ideas of popular government which lie at the foundation of this nation's life. But we enter the new century under changed conditions. Commerce, whose mandate no law can stay, whose excursions no legislature can check, is bringing us, whether we will or no, into the great council of nations. The accumulated products of our territory are pouring into every quarter of the globe, seeking a market. Our marvellous inventive genius, showing itself in wonderful mechanical contrivances, is looking beyond the bounds of the new continent for places in which it may find some adequate compensation. Japan, one nation in the silent Orient, felt the touch of our national activity, and she has passed out of obscurity into the great life of the world, and to-day stands as one of its magnificent factors. China, that great mass of an effete civilization, moving yet moving slowly even in the wondrous disturbances which now agitate it, turns with abundant faith to this nation for help in its time of distress. So, whether we wished it or not, we are forced into a position where our

national life is not simply to be considered in reference to those within our territory but as an important and dominant fact in the great councils of the world. Shall we in these councils, and in our dealings with others, follow the Talleyrand notion that language is something to conceal rather than to express thought, or shall we stand as one nation at least whose purposes and life are measured by absolute truth and honesty—a nation which has no secondary and concealed motive in its dealings with others; a nation which always says what it means and means what it says, and strives to have every utterance in accord with the highest dictates of truth and justice?

Many of our citizens are to-day troubled by the fact that, as the outcome of the late war with Spain, we have taken distant islands with a large population of a character illy in accord with that of the Anglo-Saxon. We wonder what the outcome of this venture will be. Earnest discussion fills the papers, the halls of Congress, and comes into the great tribunal of the nation. What are the bounds of our power

over those people, and what must be, in accord with our constitutional limitations, the measure of our duties to them? As one of that tribunal, before which some of those questions are pending, I can, of course, say nothing as to its decisions, but I may say that far above all questions of constitutional limitation, far above all the problems which courts may be called on to solve, is the hopeful and assuring thought that a solemn sense of responsibility fills the American soul. If they who to-day compose the great body of recognized American people shall lift their own lives up into the purity demanded by high character, if they shall measure their intercourse with the dwellers in these insular possessions by the rules of true manhood, it is a secondary matter what may be the decisions of the courts, the policy of the Administration, or the action of Congress, for we may be sure that the nation will move, with or without constitutional amendment, along that great highway which is full of blessing to all within its jurisdiction, and to the great world which surrounds it.

I want, with all the solemnity of a life that has been earnestly lived, with all that comes from years of experience in varied directions, to appeal to you, young gentlemen, lovers of your country, loyal to all its best interests, with unbounding faith in its future, willing to live and to serve, and to die if need be for its honor and glory, I want to press upon you this afternoon the thought that one grand way in which all can do abundantly for its glory and life is in building up within yourselves that pure and lofty personal character which makes the individual loved, which gives him power, and causes his life to become a blessing to his community, his nation, and the world.

The dawn of the new century is a great occasion. I wish it were my privilege to enter into its marvellous opportunities, to take part in the wondrous works which it is to see and to do. That privilege belongs to youth—to educated youth, to eager, aspiring, consecrated youth; youth which sees the sunlight flush with its crimson glow the eastern skies and will watch with attendant hearts that glow deepen-

ing and strengthening into noontide splendor and glory. And yet if I may not be with you to share and see that which is to come, I may to-day join you in Whittier's thanksgiving and prayer:

Our father's God! From out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done
And trust Thee for the opening one.

For art and labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of use,
We thank Thee; but withal we crave
The austere virtues strong to save—
The honor proof to place or gold
The manhood never bought or sold.

O make Thou us through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of our righteous law;
And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old.

SERVICE A RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

III

SERVICE A RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

A second matter in respect to the responsibilities of a citizen, worthy of notice, is the duty of service. It may be said that in a certain sense this form of obligation attends every relation and is binding on both parties thereto. There is no one so high and none so low as not to owe the duty of service. "I came not to be ministered unto but to minister unto others," said the Master, and to indicate the nobility and worth of service, He added, "he who would be chiefest among you let him be servant of all." But while service may be said to attend every relation and be one element in its obligations yet the kinds and modes of service vary with the relation. The service which a child is called upon to render to its parent is different from that which a citizen owes to the nation. And so I proceed to mention some of

the kinds of service which the citizen owes to the nation, and shall then consider the spirit and manner in which those services should be rendered.

There are certain services which are willingly rendered. For instance, the average American is willing to hold office, discharge its duties and receive its emoluments. We seldom have to force a man to take office. Undoubtedly the discharge of the duties of an office to which one is called by his fellow-citizens is an act of service to the nation. It may be a conspicuous act and sometimes quite profitable. At any rate, a glamour surrounds the holding of office, which makes it very acceptable to many. So, it seems almost a matter of supererogation to say that when one is elected or appointed to an office he owes to the nation the duty of discharging its functions. Yet holding and faithfully performing all the duties of an office is not merely a privilege; it is an obligation, and one whose neglect may be punished criminally. I have never known an instance of a man being prosecuted for refusing to accept the office of

United States Senator. No man need lie awake worrying about his liability to criminal process if he declines to accept the office of governor. On the contrary, he is more likely to be applauded for repudiating the obligation which election to office imposes than to be prosecuted therefor. There are quite a number always willing to take the burden off his shoulders. And yet there are records of judicial prosecution and punishment for the failure to accept and discharge the duties of certain minor offices. The position of road overseer or constable is not congenial to many, and not unnaturally they seek to escape therefrom. Tenacious of the right to hold each one to the duties of an office to which he has been elected the English Parliament has a pleasant way of enabling a man to resign his seat therein. While private business may not justify such resignation it is held that he may vacate that office if he accepts another of equal dignity; and so when a member of Parliament desires to resign he secures an appointment to the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds,

and then may surrender his place in Parliament.

Another case in which there is a duty of service, and one enforced by law, is that connected with the military and naval forces of the nation. He who enters either, whether voluntarily or by means of a draft, must endure all its dangers and toils. He may not avoid them without rendering himself amenable to punishment. This proceeds upon the theory that the nation, to protect its life and enforce its laws, may compel the active effort of all its citizens. But believing that the time will come when the war-drum shall beat no longer and the battle-flags be furled, I do not stop to enlarge upon the special duties of military service.

One important service is connected with the administration of justice. We are called upon to act as witnesses and jurors. How many gladly avoid the discharge of those duties? It is astonishing when a jury list is summoned to find how many sick people there are on it. I do not wonder that they are sick. I think I should be. The sickness of a juror is like the

Sunday headache, which used to be so common in college. The jury system as at present administered, in many States at least, is little more than a relic of semi-civilized conditions. The juror is too often treated as a criminal, or suspected of an intention to become one. Shut up at night, as if for fear he may become a fugitive from justice, given a compensation scarcely exceeding that which a day laborer receives, listening for days to witnesses who are sometimes stupid and often confusing, annoyed by the wearisome wrangles between attorneys concerning the admission or rejection of testimony, I do not wonder that a business man seeks to avoid its burdens, and I hope that the time will come when a juror will be treated as though he were an honest man, denied no more of the comforts of home than the judge himself, paid that which is an adequate compensation for his time and when the unanimity now required and which prompts to all the strenuous effort to guard against undue influences upon one, or to secure the kindly assistance of one—a unanimity which is called for in scarce-

ly any other tribunal on the face of the earth —shall give way to a system in which the concurrence of a reasonable majority of the jurors shall determine the verdict. So, a witness is often insulted by opposing counsel. He is interrogated as though he were presumably a liar, and questions are put to him with insinuations and in a manner which every honorable man feels like resenting. But notwithstanding all the disagreeable features which attend service as a witness or juror it is an obligation resting upon the citizen, and one which as a duty he should not ignore. Let him strive for reformation, but meantime not make himself a delinquent.

Again, there is service at the primaries and the polls. No more important duty rests upon the citizen. The great problem of government by the people depends for its wise solution upon the fidelity with which this service is performed. I know there are many to whom a primary is a matter of no moment, a campaign nothing better than a circus, an election day only a holiday; but to him who appreciates the

value of government by the people, who knows that here, in the first instance, at least, the policy of such government is to be settled, who appreciates the dignity of American citizenship and his personal responsibility for the successful outcome of the great problem; to him the primary and the polls are sacred places, and the service he renders there is as important as any rendered on the battle-field or in the halls of Congress. Unfortunately, too often, the one who is most competent to render efficient service in these directions is the one who neglects it. He does not like the atmosphere of the primary or the surroundings of the polls. Conscious of education and intelligence he is afflicted with a daintiness which leads him to avoid the touch of common people. Then when the outcome does not accord with his views he mourns over the decadence of the American people, and the infelicities of our politics.

One service more I must mention, and that is service in the payment of taxes. I have yet to meet the man whose heart was filled with

gratitude at the privilege of paying taxes. While many unhesitatingly pay them and feel that in so doing they are discharging but a common obligation of all, you are not likely to find one overflowing with effusion of joy because he has been permitted to contribute so much money to the government. Every one knows that the pecuniary burdens we call taxes must be borne; the individual must contribute in order that the government may continue, and yet the ordinary tax-payer is willing that his neighbor shall bear this burden. His patriotism in this respect is like that of Artemus Ward in the civil war, a willingness to have all his wife's relations drafted. There has always been great difference of opinion as to the things to be taxed and the modes of taxation. Out of these differences have arisen some of the political parties of the day, and disputes concerning these questions have been sharp both in legislative and judicial halls. There is a constant effort by many to shift by legislation the burdens of taxation to the shoulders of others, and when they fail in that legis-

lation they pursue many a curious and winding way in efforts to escape those burdens.

I have enumerated these various forms in which service is to be rendered by the citizen to the State in order that the scope thereof may be clearly understood. I do not mean that these are all the services which are due from the citizen, but they are enough to present the matter to the mind. As is obvious, these obligations of service are not all continuous. They are not pressing upon the citizen at all times, nor do they rest upon all alike. And yet they are services which may be called for, and in respect to them I notice these things:

First, whenever due they should be willingly rendered, for every failure impairs to that extent the ability of the nation to do and be for the citizen all that it should do and be. The organization of the political institution which we call the nation is for the purpose of securing the highest well-being of all the individuals composing it. As declared in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, it is ordained to "establish justice, ensure domestic

tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In order that the nation may the most perfectly discharge its duty to the people, and carry into full effect the purpose for which it was organized it is essential that each citizen and all citizens should render the various services which each and all are called upon to render, whenever they are so called upon; and that they should render them willingly. They should lift their eyes above the narrow horizon of their own convenience, their own temporary comfort or annoyance, and see that in the performance of those duties they are simply doing their part in helping the nation to its highest usefulness, and securing to it the capacity for the greatest blessings to themselves and their posterity.

Again, it should be intelligent service. The workings of that great machine called the government are not mechanical. Its various parts are not fastened to a central wheel by pulleys and bolts, wheels and cogs, so that when once

that central wheel is started all move in unison with mechanical precision. The forces which permeate and move the life of the nation are intellectual and moral. Each one who takes his part in doing any service to the nation must, in order to fully discharge his duty, act with all the intelligence he possesses. Science may measure and control the forces which move inert lifeless matter, but science can put no chain or band around those forces which start within the human soul and which prompt each individual to his activities. In order that the aggregate of the forces which move the nation may work out the best it is all important that he who moves any of them, or touches the great springs of its life, shall have a clear understanding of what he is doing and the results of his action, and so become an intelligent factor in that life. Very different is the condition of a nation like this from that which obtains in an absolute monarchy where the directing force, the intellectual power, is centred in an individual or a handful while the great mass of the individuals are simply pawns

moved by the master minds on the national chessboard. Here each man is an active ruler. Upon him rests the responsibility of government, and out of the commingled thoughts and purposes of all comes the final movement of the nation. Nor is the obligation of intelligent service limited to the higher forms of service and not binding on those who discharge those of less importance. It may require a superior talent, a larger knowledge, to make a great general than a private soldier, but all history attests that the intelligent soldier, the one who discharges the duties of that service thoughtfully, is of far more value than one who is stupid and ignorant. In battle, as everywhere else, the personal factor becomes of no small moment, and intelligent service there on the part of all is, like intelligent service elsewhere, a help to success.

And if intelligent service is called for from any, surely it is from those who have had the benefit of a liberal education. The hod-carrier, the section hand, the street-cleaner, may say that his range of knowledge is limited. He has

not had the opportunities of others for study, but the college graduate can make no such defence. Of all citizens he is the one to whom is given the largest opportunity for acquiring knowledge, and is the last man in the nation who can plead ignorance as an excuse for lack of intelligent service. He, at least in this respect, is charged with the highest responsibility. He goes out from college halls an ambassador from a great court of learning, whose diploma he carries as his credentials. He is received, and rightfully received, as possessed of knowledge and the power which comes therefrom. Ignorance is to him an unconscionable plea. The graduate from this university who when called upon to render service writes ignorance as his excuse for mistake casts a libel on his alma mater. If you have no moral character you may be a scoundrel, but never ask the community to believe that a Yale graduate is a fool.

Again, it should be unselfish and conscientious service. I endeavored to show in my last lecture that high personal character is one of

the obligations of the citizen, and that it is all-important to the life of the nation. Along the same line of thought, it must be said that unselfish and conscientious action is one of the important elements in a full discharge of the obligations of service. The thought that it is the prime purpose to get as much out of life and give as little to it as possible is unworthy a manly man, and especially one who has been given great advantages in preparing for life. A citizen should be conscientious in the discharge not only of duties of high position but in the discharge of every kind of service called for. We expect a president, a governor, or a judge, to be conscientious. We have an equal right to call upon the humblest citizen to be likewise. He should be conscientious as a juror, conscientious as a road overseer, conscientious in the discharge of his duties as a voter and in the payment of taxes. That there is not infrequently great lacking in this regard in minor matters is obvious.

A friend told me this of the experience of one of the States: It had been the habit in that

State to leave the listing of personal property to the unsworn statement of the tax-payer. The smallness of the assessment roll attracted attention, and finally an act was passed requiring the return by each tax-payer to be verified by his oath. The first year the aggregate return of personal property was doubled, but the year thereafter it diminished a little, and steadily from year to year it grew less and less. As the State was one where property changes are slight the only satisfactory explanation was that the first year the conscience of the tax-payer pricked him and he made something like a truthful statement. The next year his conscience hardened and he was willing to drop a little, and so from year to year the hardening process went on and the assessment roll went down.

Does any one at all familiar with our national life doubt that that which is suggested by this illustration finds abundant repetition everywhere? The frequent justification is that a neighbor does the same, or that there is a common understanding in the community to that effect.

In another direction is also witnessed a frequent disregard of the obligations of conscientious service, and that is in judicial proceedings. The juror yields his judgment to his prejudices. Especially is this true (and true not merely of jurors but of witnesses) in those actions in which there is an effort by law to restrain the vices of the community. It has sometimes been, perhaps not extravagantly, stated that prohibition laws are the greatest incentive to perjury that the country affords. Certain it is that offences against those laws are exceedingly difficult of successful prosecution. The memory of witnesses is lamentably weak and the reasonable doubts of jurors are multiplied and magnified. Both witnesses and jurors are parleying with conscience, and their action too often springs from objection to the law rather than from a failure of memory or ignorance of testimony.

And here I must notice that which is attracting growing attention, to-wit, the so-called commercialism in politics. That it exists, that it is an evil, that it is freighted with peril, no

intelligent person questions. Possibly the extent to which it exists is exaggerated. It is easy for a beaten party or candidate to charge that defeat is owing to the use of money. These things must also be borne in mind: The real cost of carrying on a political campaign is great; halls are to be hired; speakers are to be employed; brass bands and pyrotechnique displays attend parades and conventions; enormous masses of publications are circulated. And these campaigns are carried on in modern military methods, with a general commander, whose various lieutenants and agents take their bidding from the central authority and act as officers of the great political army. In this respect campaigns differ from those of fifty years ago, for they were more in the nature of spontaneous inexpensive movements by separate communities having a common purpose. Now a campaign along these new lines necessarily involves large expenditures, and expenditures which cannot be denounced as corrupt. Whether in all respects this mode of campaigning is better than that which existed in days

gone by may be doubted, but it is far from just to denounce the expenditures made in consequence thereof as evidences of corruption. It must also be remembered that the pecuniary interests which are involved are enormous, that money is more abundant, that many interested can easily afford and are willing to contribute, so that large sums pass into the hands of party managers, and with their possession comes the temptation to make a display. And yet, making all fair allowances for these various matters, no one can doubt that money is becoming a factor, and a hurtful factor, in our politics. Side by side with this is also the fact that, with the change in our capital cities in the styles and modes of living, the cost thereof has become greater, salaries of public officials are more inadequate, and there is the ever-pressing temptation to utilize official position in such way that one may go out of politics no worse off at least pecuniarily than when he went in. I have not time to amplify on this subject, to detail the evidences of the existence of this evil, to repeat the stories which are found in the

daily papers, stories many of which I am glad to believe are but stories, though perhaps too often, like the historical novel, fiction founded upon fact. What I do wish to emphasize is that this evil exists and that it is more of an evil than it was in days gone by.

As against this, as well as against all other like evils, I appeal to the American sense of the value and duty of high, conscientious service. Each one must realize that so far as he stands proof against its seductive power, keeping himself aloof from its contaminating touch, he is doing his part to stay its curse and take the bitterness of the sting from the frequent sneer that in American politics the dollar is more than the man. We must impress upon all the solemn fact that the voting booth is the temple of American institutions. No single tribe or family is chosen to watch the sacred fires evermore burning on its altars, or to tend in its services. Each one of us is a priest. To each is given the care of the ark of the covenant. Each one ministers at its altars. He who ministers at those altars with hands stained with

corruption is like one who sitteth at the table of the Lord and eateth and drinketh unworthily, and thus eateth and drinketh damnation.

Along the street
The shadows meet
Of Destiny, whose hands conceal
The molds of fate
That shape the State,
And make or mar the common weal.

Around I see
The powers that be,
I stand by Empire's primal springs;
And princes meet
In every street,
And hear the tread of uncrowned kings!

Not lightly fall
Beyond recall
The written scrolls a breath can float;
The crowning fact,
The kingliest act,
Of Freedom is the Freeman's vote!

Our hearts grow cold,
We lightly hold
A right which brave men died to gain;
The stake, the cord,
The axe, the sword,
Grim nurses at its birth of pain.

The shadow rend,
And o'er us bend,
O martyrs, with your crowns and palms;
Breathe through these throngs
Your battle songs,
Your scaffold prayers and dungeon psalms!

Look from the sky,
Like God's great eye,
Thou solemn moon, with searching beam,
Till in the sight
Of thy pure light
Our mean self-seekings meaner seem.

Shame from our hearts
Unworthy arts,
The fraud designed, the purpose dark;
And smite away
The hands we lay
Profanely on the sacred ark.

To party claims
And private aims
Reveal that august face of Truth,
Whereto are given
The age of heaven,
The beauty of immortal youth.

So shall our voice
Of sovereign choice
Swell the deep bass of duty done.

And strike the key
Of time to be,
When God and man shall speak as one!

I do not doubt the outcome. Nor do I rest my faith on Matthew Arnold's idea of a saving remnant. The great body of the American people are still keenly alive to a sense of the solemnity of this obligation of service. They do not more than half believe the stories that fill our press. They are a patient, enduring people. They willingly condone offences, believing that the shame which attends will be both punishment to the individual and check against repetition. But if ever convinced that commercialism is controlling our political life they will rise in their wrath and take swiftest and sternest vengeance on all who are in fact or are believed to be tainted with this curse.

Finally, let me add, live your life in the full sense of the nobility of the citizen's service. It is, of course, trite to say that every honest service is noble, to whomsoever and in whatsoever cause rendered; but if we link in our minds the service we render with the cause to which

it is rendered we may often have a clearer vision of its real nobility. We see not merely that we are rendering willing, intelligent, and conscientious service, and therefore have the peace of mind which comes from the consciousness of duty done, but we become filled with the greatness of that to which the service is rendered, and whose well-being finds its highest promise in the fidelity of our efforts, and so there comes to us as in no other way a realization of the nobility of that service. And this sense of nobility extends to every kind of service the citizen may render, no matter whether it may be what the world calls high or what it may regard as low. The end ennobles the work. Paul had that idea when, in the 12th Chapter of the 1st Corinthians, he illustrated the co-working of all christians to the same end in different services by a comparison of the body with all its members, saying: "But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those

members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. . . . And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." Equally, therefore, may he who is rendering the humblest form of service to this great Republic rejoice as being a co-worker with him who is performing the highest, assured that without fidelity on his part the efforts of others will lose something of their value, and sure that he equally with them is a part of this nation and a maker of its destiny. In the days of the Cæsars "I am a Roman citizen" was a proud, exultant declaration. It was protection. It was more; it was honor and glory. Twenty centuries of advancing civilization have given to the declaration, "I am an American citizen" a higher and a nobler place. It stands to-day in the forefront of earthly titles. It proclaims a sharing in the greatest opportunities. It is a trumpet-call to the highest fidelity. It is the diploma of the world, the highest which humanity has to bestow.

OBLIGATION OF OBEDIENCE

IV

OBLIGATION OF OBEDIENCE

The next form of obligation to which I wish to call your attention is that of obedience. It is a necessity of every organized community that there should be laws and rules to control the actions of individuals. Without them a state of anarchy would exist, each man being a law unto himself, and the diverse purposes and wishes bringing about constant collisions. It is true laws and rules place some restraint on human action, but it does not follow therefrom that they at all interfere with liberty in its truest sense. For liberty does not imply license, absolute freedom of action, but simply the right to do that which one deems best, subject to the limitation that it does not interfere with the equal rights of other members of the community. Of course a Robinson Crusoe may have absolute freedom, for alone on an

island there is no one having rights to be abridged by anything he may do. And, parenthetically I may say, if every one who feels that the slight restraints of the law are trespasses upon his liberty would hie away to some lonely island in the South Seas and there luxuriate in the liberty he craves, our benedictions would go with him as well as our prayers that he never return. But when even his man Friday comes to live with Crusoe then his absolute freedom of action must stop on the hither side of Friday's rights. And each additional person coming to live with or near him, having his own rights may by virtue thereof somewhat restrain Crusoe's action. So it is that the more there are in a community and the more closely they live together, the more numerous are the necessary restraints upon the action of each. This necessity of restraint is the source of that mysterious and illy defined attribute of government which we call the police power, a power which always has a wider field of action in a city than in a village, and in a village than in a farming neighborhood.

In a government by the people law is the expressed will of the majority. Back of it stands the power of the organized community. That power exists to compel obedience to law, and to many, therefore, law stands simply as the representation of force; something which must be yielded to, not because there is a pleasure in so doing but because there is a necessity therefor and unfortunate penalties for not yielding. So, to them law is something which always stands in antagonism. The officers of the law are their enemies, and they feel a secret pleasure whenever they see them baffled in their efforts to execute it. It is popular to sneer at and ridicule the policeman, although without him we would be at the mercy of the worst elements.

It often happens that the meaning of a law is debatable, is disputed. Within the nation we have tribunals to determine such matters of dispute, but if a tribunal decides the meaning against our contention, not infrequently then that tribunal becomes itself the object of antagonism, and we look upon it as simply an-

other instrumentality by which we are coerced into that which we do not wish and declare that we have become again the victims of mere arbitrary power.

I may here note in passing the difference between that law which obtains within a nation, or municipal law as it is called, and international law, the body of rules which regulate the intercourse of nations. In respect to the latter, there is neither tribunal to determine what is the law, nor organized force to compel obedience. The separate nations construe for themselves, and, when selfish interests require, abide by their own interpretations, or defiantly repudiate the law entirely. The contrast between that condition and that of law within a nation where there is a tribunal to determine the meaning and a power to enforce obedience is obvious.

I do not mean to say that there are no circumstances under which disobedience to law may become a duty. Half a century ago there was great discussion in this country upon the question of the "higher law," and that there

is a higher law I have no doubt. The law of righteousness carries a demand of obedience above any mere human enactment, but nevertheless the instances in which the higher law will conflict with the law of the nation are so rare that it does not seem profitable to use much time in discussing them. It certainly ill becomes one as an excuse for disobedience to create a mere imaginary conflict between municipal and the higher law. Human nature is so constituted that when a law does not suit us we look with great complacency upon the suggestion that it conflicts with some higher law, and that, therefore, we ought to disobey it. Often one fancies that he has grave religious doubts when it is a mere matter of a disordered liver. As Mrs. Bateman, one of the characters in "The Farringdons," says of husbands in general, and hers in particular:

"The very best of them don't properly know the difference between their souls and their stomachs; and they fancy that they are a-wrestling with their doubts, when really it is their dinners that are a-wrestling with them.

Now take Bateman hisself, and a kinder husband or a better Methodist never drew breath; yet so sure as he touches a bit of pork, he begins to worry hisself about the doctrine of Election till there's no living with him. . . . He'll sit in the front parlor and engage in prayer for hours at a time, till I says to him, 'Bateman,' says I, 'I'd be ashamed to go troubling the Lord with a prayer when a pinch o' carbonate of soda would set things straight again.'"

One may often wisely solve the doubtful conflict in his mind between duties as did the good Quaker on shipboard when the vessel was attacked by pirates. A man of peace, he would do no fighting, but as he saw a pirate climbing up the side of the vessel by a rope, he said to him, "Friend, dost thou wish the rope? Thou shalt have it," and suiting the action to the word drew his knife, cut the rope and dropped both rope and pirate into the ocean.

It must not be supposed that obedience implies a mere passive condition—a simple refraining from doing things forbidden by stat-

ute. It is an active virtue. The law commands as well as forbids; and obedience requires the doing of the act which the law commands as well as the not doing that which it forbids. As I indicated in my last lecture, the nation calls for various kinds of service, and in the truest sense a citizen never fulfils his obligation of obedience unless he renders those services. He may not claim that he has discharged his whole obligation by proof that he has never broken a single clause of the penal code. It is the willing active effort that makes obedience a virtue. Submission is not the whole. That may spring from indifference or cowardice. It indicates no appreciation of the dignities or duties of citizenship. In a certain sense it may be true, as the blind Milton wrote, "they also serve who only stand and wait," but in this eager, aspiring, tumultuous day of ours, in this stirring, pushing, pressing life of the Republic, he alone enters fully into the spirit of obedience who throws himself joyfully and earnestly forward in the effort to do all that the nation calls for, and

also to secure like action from others. "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." One's own attitude toward the law is one thing. His efforts to bring others into the same attitude another and equally important. He must evermore lift up the law as something sacred, not to be thrown down and trampled in the dust by any one or any party.

So I pass on to say that the duty upon the part of every one to obey the laws of the nation arises because, in the first place, such obedience insures peace and order. If all obeyed, the criminal courts, now so busy, would find their occupation, like Othello's, gone, and a peace would prevail through the community—a peace not like the order which reigned in Warsaw, stifling activities and indicating stagnation of life, but a peace in which all the activities of all the individuals of the nation would have fullest play.

Obedience is a duty because, in the second place, in this government by the people all take part in the enactment of the laws. When many individuals engage in a common enter-

prise whose particular actions are to be settled by the judgment of the majority, it is the part of honor to abide by the decision of such majority. Surely the path of honor in such a case becomes the path of duty. It is the essence of government by the people that the will of the majority should control, and no man should put himself in a position of defiance to that will simply because he does not concur in the views of the majority. But, it may be said, that ofttimes laws are unjust, unwise, and operate harshly on individuals. Doubtless that is true, but General Grant never said a wiser thing than when he declared that the best way to treat a bad law was to enforce it strictly, for then its odious features would soon arrest attention, and the considerate judgment of the majority would repeal it.

It has been said that popular government was doomed to failure because of the bitterness growing out of election contests; that human nature is such that the result of the struggles at the polls will not always be acquiesced in by the defeated party, and that an appeal to arms

may be expected from those there beaten, and that when once such an appeal is successful repetitions will follow, until, dismayed and harassed thereby, the community gladly takes refuge in a strong central government with a continuous executive. All social and business interests will prefer even "a man on horseback" to anarchy and confusion. It is not to be gainsaid that the experience of many so-called republican governments furnish support to this contention. Revolutions follow one another in some of our South American States with almost the frequency of elections, and with far greater regularity than earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. A friend of mine, returning the other day from one of those States, told me that while there he spoke to some gentlemen about the frequency of revolutions, and received the reply, that unlike their northern neighbors they had neither tennis, nor cricket, nor golf to amuse themselves with, and must have revolutions for their fun.

We have had in our history one terrible lesson, a lesson which will not soon be forgotten,

and which, in addition to other matters, was a declaration as forceful as could have been made that this people will fight to the last before they will permit to enter into our political life the idea that any body of men or party can appeal from the ballot-box to the musket. It was a terrible lesson, but perhaps a necessary one, and now obedience, at least in respect to the action of parties and sections, to the supreme law of the land, is something which, so far as human foresight can determine, is in this nation to stay. We have since had election contests full of bitterness, contests in which the defeated party felt that it had been fraudulently deprived of a victory to which it was entitled by the popular vote. But while for a time passions raged with utmost violence, the one great lesson of the past was heeded, and rather than enter upon the bitter experience of revolution the defeated party, although smarting under the conviction that the fruits of victory had been stolen from it, was content to wait for a new election. To say that the acceptance of the results of an election is a

duty resting upon all is simply another way of affirming the duty of obedience to the laws and the government. One of the imposing spectacles of our national life is the vision of the cheerfulness with which the great body of our people generally accept the result of an election. As Senator Daniels said, in his address at the Capital Centennial the other day, "the political clocks of both parties strike the same hours; after election."

While I do not look for trouble in the way of attempted revolution, there is a form of disobedience to constituted authority which is becoming unfortunately too prevalent and which is freighted with danger. I refer to those disturbances which attend what are commonly known as strikes.

As I have heretofore pointed out, obedience in the truest sense of the term is an active virtue. It calls not alone for personal conduct, but also for active effort to make obedience the universal rule. Industrial combination is a fact of to-day; large manufacturing and transportation enterprises on the one hand, with

great bodies of employees on the other. Combination and organization exist on both sides. Our constitutional guarantee of equality gives to either party the right to terminate the relation of employer and employe. It is true that if such termination involves a breach of contract an action for damages will lie, which may be something of value against the employer and not much against the employee. But the termination of that relation, whether involving breach of contract or not, carries with it no right of coercion. No matter what injury to the employer, or disturbance of his interests, or inconvenience to the public the summary stopping of work by the employees singly or in mass may produce, the law does not attempt to compel them to work. An equality of right is possessed by the employer. He may terminate the relation of employer and employee, and the law will not compel him to reinstate it. If there be a breach of contract he may suffer in an action of damages, but the law does not forcibly re-establish the relation. As the employees may act in a body, so the em-

ployers may act, and so may they treat them as a body. I am dealing now with the legal rights of the two parties. I take no notice of conditions which may exist if compulsory arbitration ever becomes a feature of our law. There may then possibly be coercion. Neither do I stop to take notice of that pressure which comes from public sentiment and which often and justly influences one or both parties to seek to re-establish the relation; nor even of those ethical principles which ought to influence us all, and which doubtless in the days to come may be more and more incorporated into positive law. I am dealing, as I said, simply with present legal relations, and the obligations of obedience to the laws which go hand in hand with those relations.

While many of these strikes are settled peacefully, yet it is a sad fact in respect to not a few that they are attended by violence, collision, destruction of property, and sometimes of life. It may be true that in many instances the violence and destruction are not the work of the strikers themselves, but of mere sympa-

thizers, or even of the mob of the idle and vicious who are sure to congregate where there is a prospect of trouble. But he who calls a mob into being cannot be pronounced wholly guiltless of that which the mob may do.

It is not my purpose to inquire which in any given case is primarily the most responsible, the employer or the employee. What I wish to emphasize is that these collisions involve a matter of disobedience. It is one thing to exercise a right which the law gives, and in the exercise of that right an individual or a combination is entitled to the fullest protection; but it is an entirely different thing for one party to endeavor to prevent another from exercising an equal right under the law. It makes little difference whether the attempted coercion is by force or intimidation. In either case it is an effort not to change but to break the law. In either it is a matter of disobedience in the truest sense of the term. It may be wise that all who are engaged in pursuing the same avocation should be organized into one body, but whether they should be so

organized or not depends, as the law now stands, solely on voluntary action, and to attempt to deny a laborer his right to work, whether he be within or without an organization, or to deprive him of full protection in that work, implies a plain disregard of the mandates of the law. If it be, as a matter of political economy, wise that there should be a consolidation of all employees into one or more organizations, and that no one should be permitted to work except he be a member of such organizations, let the law makers so enact, and whenever a constitutional enactment to that effect is passed, then every good citizen should strive to enforce it. But until such enactment there is no justifiable excuse for attempting by any form of coercion or intimidation to deprive one of his liberty in respect to labor, a liberty included within what our fathers declared to be inalienable rights, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Another matter which illustrates both the spirit and result of disobedience, and which is a blot on our national life, is the frequency of

lynch law. It used to be said that it was an experience of the frontier, in communities which had not become fully organized and where the forces of the law were not yet in successful operation. But now it may almost be regarded as a habit of the American people. Scarcely a day passes that the people of some community have not, as it is said, taken the law into their own hands. The time was when these acts were so rare, and coming only under conditions of terrible excitement and atrocious crime, that they startled us. They were called thunder-storms, and it was claimed in their justification that like thunder-storms they cleared the air. But now they are so common that we pay little attention to them, and look upon them as almost a matter of course. It is a convenient, inexpensive, and expeditious way of putting some worthless scoundrel out of the world, and the fact that there is an occasional mistake as to the real criminal seems to operate in no way to deter from similar actions and on slight provocation.

Far be it from me to say that there is not in

the administration of the law that which may be stated by way of palliation. It seems sometimes as though legislation was conceived in the spirit of obstruction to the punishment of criminals and of indefinite postponement thereof by appeal, writ of error, and habeas corpus. Appellate courts have a wonderfully quick eye for detecting fine technical errors in criminal proceedings, and back of all stands a tender-hearted Executive responding to the appeals of relatives and friends of the criminal. It is not therefore altogether wonderful that an indignant community will take no chances but summarily inflicts the punishment the accused deserves. But we must rise to a higher plane or the peace and order as well as the good name of society will suffer sad shatter. We shall rise to such higher plane only when the moral sense of the community is aroused to the enormity of such transactions. It is useless to scold legislators or lawyers or judges or executives. They will never be any better than the popular sentiment which is back of them. When that public sentiment is aroused

so as to feel that the safety of the community demands prompt, stern, unfaltering prosecution of criminals, then it will be that legislation will cease to block but will strive to facilitate; errors will be less obvious; executives will be firmer; justice will be done; criminals will be punished, and lynch law will be forgotten. Disobedience to the law will in this respect be simply a matter of history.

I might go on pointing out other forms of disobedience, and noting the varied results which flow therefrom, but perhaps these are enough. And the conclusion which I wish to draw is the duty and necessity of full, hearty obedience to the letter and spirit of all our laws. Do I lay too much stress on this? Am I failing to note the many imperfections which attend our laws and the administration thereof? By no means. On the contrary, I fully appreciate the incongruities, the defects, the imperfections. But there is no danger that obedience will tend to perpetuate these defects and imperfections; that the masses continually yielding to things as they are will become so

used to them as neither to seek nor desire improvement. On the contrary, the very spirit of the age is against contentment and acquiescence. It challenges everything. It is volcanic and iconoclastic, and there is more likelihood of overthrow and revolution. We are in a hurry. We cannot wait the slow processes of growth and time. Given an evil, a defect, and we must strike it down, even if with it go many things of value. Rapid changes are the order of the day, and there is far more danger from the rapidity of those changes than from any supine acquiescence in things as they are. The obedience of the American is not cowardly. It is not from selfishness. It springs from a conviction that it is duty. And he sees as the reward of duty done the promise of a better day for himself and his dear ones, and the sweet assurance that the nation, of which he is a citizen, in whose past he glories, and in whose future he hopes, will thereby be made stronger and better fitted for the full achievement of its glorious mission in the world.

THE DUTY OF STRIVING TO BETTER THE LIFE OF THE NATION

V

THE DUTY OF STRIVING TO BETTER THE LIFE OF THE NATION

The last matter which I wish to notice is one that looks forward: The duty of striving for the bettering of the life of the nation. The famous Scotch preacher, Dr. Guthrie, kept over his desk these words declaratory of his purposes in life:

> **For the cause that needs assistance,**
> **For the wrong that needs resistance,**
> **For the future in the distance,**
> **And the good that I may do.**

To every citizen comes the nation's call in this direction. By as much as he appreciates all that the nation is to him, its protection, its helpfulness, its blessing; by as much as he realizes that his own possibilities of accomplishment are widened and strengthened, and that life will be made richer to his children and his

children's children by its continued growth in all the higher elements of national being; by so much should he listen and respond to its loud call to so order his life and work that all shall tend to the bettering of its life.

Too many seem to feel that their duty to the nation is a qualified and limited one; that a negative obligation is all really resting upon them; that so long as they do not hurt the national life they are called upon for nothing more. Whatever they may do in the development of personal character, or in the discharge of social and political duties, is done without any appreciation of its effect upon the national life. It is enough for them, so far as the Republic is concerned, that they do not disobey its laws; that when called upon they render the personal services demanded, and that their characters and the habits and conduct springing therefrom are such as to keep them out of the police court. To them patriotism as an active virtue means nothing except in time of war, and not too much then. In peace a mere sluggish acquiescence in what is being done

suffices. It never enters into their contemplation that the growing well-being of the country depends at all upon their personal efforts. In an easy way they turn over to others the full responsibility for the future. They know nothing of that magnificent thing called public spirit. They are content to take what comes, and doing nothing very discreditable are wont to believe that they are numbered among the good citizens. Like the servant mentioned in the parable they take the talent given them and, burying it in the earth, have no thought of returning it with interest.

As against this negative view of duty I want to appeal for positive affirmative vigorous action. The poet says:

> We are living, we are dwelling,
> In a grand and awful time;
> In an age on ages telling;
> To be living is sublime.

The thought thus expressed I wish to emphasize, and emphasize it in relation to the duties of every one of its citizens to the great Republic. I want to appeal to the moral ele-

ment in the nature of every student in this great university. I want to lift the obligations of citizenship above the mere question of mathematics, the duty of giving only up to the amount of receiving. I want as best I can to impress upon you that in your obligations to this nation the debtor side always carries a plus. Whatever of comfort, of prestige, of success, of glory, may attend your work for the nation, and whatever else may pass to the credit side of your account, the debtor side is always charged with a larger sum. And I add that the greater the credit side proportionately increased is the excess of the debit side. If in your experiences of life by the considerate judgment of your fellows, or the opportunities of business, you are lifted into positions of power and usefulness, the very fact that your credit side is enlarged above that of the ordinary citizen carries with it notice that the debtor side has increased even more rapidly.

If this nation in its development had reached a state of perfection, or one near it, you might well say that the obligations resting

upon you were limited to the duty of helping to preserve that which had been accomplished; but unfortunately whatever we may say about the greatness and glory of our nation, however much we may boast of what it has achieved, we all know that when we place its present life over against a perfect life there is an unfortunate failure. National ideals are not yet with us national facts. We see a glory to be accomplished but not yet realized. We are conscious of shortcomings, defects, delinquencies, which we hope will some day disappear. As each individual has his ideals, which unfortunately he never realizes, so each one of us looks upon the nation and sees that with all it has done and accomplished there is still a vast field of achievement.

Notwithstanding all the boastings we make of the grand history and the glorious life of this Republic, no thoughtful man doubts the magnitude of the work before us. There runs through the present life of the nation a multitude of imperfections and shadows. The national life is not perfect. Society as it exists

to-day has many dark places. We are still far from the Millennial day. I may not notice all, and yet these stand out in bold relief: There is undoubtedly corruption in political life—perhaps not all that some despondent persons assert, but still there is a commercialism in politics which no thoughtful man can be ignorant of. The equal voice of the voters is not yet secured, and that irrespective of the matter of intimidation. A great many do not cast their votes in accordance with their independent honest judgment. Influences more or less corrupt are potent. Notwithstanding all our educational privileges, our common schools, and the great work they are doing (and I have not the slightest desire to minimize the extent of their work) there is a fearful volume of ignorance. More than that, there is in our population a heterogeneous mass. We are not all Anglo-Saxon. We do not all spring from those races which have true ideas of self-government. We have a great multitude coming from those nations in which government is a supposed enemy, a multitude which has no idea

of the meaning of liberty restrained by law. It has yet to be Americanized, to be brought into a realization of the limitations upon personal action which come from the highest obligations of liberty. More than that, we have, notwithstanding our enormous resources and great territory, a large population who know nothing of the blessing of a home, and the pure surroundings which attach thereto.

Surely in this meagre picture of the life and needs of the nation there is an appeal to every kingly soul. In feudal times it was the boast of the knight that no appeal from the weaker sex went unheeded. Those times have been called, and not improperly, the age of chivalry. I want to revive something of the spirit of that age, in the knightly devotion of each of our citizens to the Republic. The story of Richard Cœur de Lion will to the end of time move every soul, and it is well that it does so. Ideals of heroism, persistence, and devotion should ever be held before the eyes of the young, and not be put one side as no part of the practical life of to-day. On the contrary, there never

has been a time in the history of the world when ideals towering above the mere struggle for pecuniary personal reward were of more importance.

Men take the pure ideals of their souls
  And lock them fast away,
And never dream that things so beautiful
  Are fit for every day!
So counterfeits pass current in their lives,
  And stones they use for bread,
And starvingly and fearfully they walk
  Through life among the dead,
Though never yet was pure ideal
Too fair for them to make their Real.

The thoughts of beauty dawning on the soul
  Are glorious heaven-gleams,
And God's eternal truth lies folded deep
  In all man's lofty dreams;
In thoughts still world, some brother-tie which bound
  The Planets, Kepler saw,
And through long years he searched the spheres, and there
  He found the answering law.
Men said he sought a wild ideal,
The stars made answer, "it is Real!"

Aye, Daniel, Howard, all the crowned ones
  That, star-like, gleam through time,
Lived boldly out before the clear-eyed sun,
  Their inmost thoughts sublime !
Those truths, to them more beautiful than day,
  They knew would quicken men ;
And deeds befitting the millennial truths
  They dared to practise then,
Till they who mocked the young ideal
In meekness owned it was the Real.

Thine early dreams, which came like "shapes of light,"
  Came bearing Prophesy ;
And nature's tongues, from leaves to "'quiring stars,"
  Teach loving faith to Thee ;
Fear not to build thine eyrie in the heights
  Where golden splendors play ;
And trust thyself unto thine inmost soul
  In simple faith alway ;
And God will make divinely Real
The highest forms of thine Ideal.

In the presence of these ideals the question comes to every young man, what is your purpose in life? Do you look forward to it in the hope of honor, wealth or pleasure, or are you stirred through and through with the thought

that life means to you possibilities of usefulness and service? Are you ambitious? I hope so, notwithstanding Cardinal Wolsey's words to his protegé, "Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition. By that sin fell the angels." I agree that ambition which is purely personal, whose boundaries are self and pleasure, is something calling for no laudation or approval. But an ambition not so circumscribed, but which has the idea of usefulness—and it may be of a name connected with that usefulness—an ambition which looks to achievement for others, is one worthy of all commendation. It is one which stirs the individual to loftiest deeds and noblest living. I have little respect for one who has no ideals in life; for one who measures the whole purpose and scope of his existence by the loaf and the dollar. Such a one may have all the negative qualifications of a citizen. He may never antagonize the course of things prescribed by the law. He may never fail in obedience to the letter of the statute or in response to any demand for personal service, and yet he may go through life possessed of a

character which, though destitute of positive vices, is equally wanting in positive virtues. He stands a type of those mentioned in the Revelations as members of the Church of Laodicea: "Thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot I will spew thee out of my mouth."

Among the ideals filling the aspiring soul of every citizen of these United States should be the ideal nation. Neither himself nor his family, his friends, the community in which he lives, nor even the single State of which he is primarily a citizen should fill the measure of his thoughts and labors—but the great Republic, of which both himself and his family, friends, community and State are but parts, should ever rise like Mont Blanc among the Alps, the supreme object of devotion and toil.

I do not mean that every one should look forward with the purpose or expectation of being a statesman and holding office, of becoming a politician of the respectable kind, or even the favored recipient of a newspaper para-

graph. But I do mean that one clear purpose of every life should be to help in making the nation better. It should be a distinct object in life; something which the individual aims to accomplish, and not something which may come as a mere incident to other efforts and purposes. We must live with the idea that we have a solemn duty to this Republic; that we are its large debtors, and that the only limit to our obligation is our capacity to help in lifting its life to a higher and nobler plane.

To carry such a purpose into effect we must have both courage and candor. The question which each must ask is not, how can I become most popular, but how can I do the most good? We often hear the sentiment: our country, right or wrong. A higher thought is: our country, let us make it always right. Times may come in which we have to stand by our country, even though we do not fully agree with what it is doing. In case of a war, and one even which our judgment does not approve, we cannot ally ourselves with the enemy. We cannot afford to be traitors. We may be

compelled to serve as its soldiers and help it in its effort to victory. And yet we can always be numbered among those who demand that the nation shall only engage in righteous war; that no matter of hate or revenge, no thought of territorial acquisition or eagerness to display our power before the world shall ever lead us into a bloody conflict with our neighbors. We can also ever demand that the end of every war shall be a righteous and just peace. This nation must not appear before the world as a highwayman. Stand and deliver must never be the motto of the Republic. Victory must be seasoned with justice. If the purpose of the war be accomplished, the end should promptly and rightfully come; and the greater our power, the greater our victory, the higher is our obligation to do justice. *Noblesse oblige* is a rule for nations as for individuals. And that nation as that individual stands highest in the world's thought, becomes most potent for good, which in the hour of triumph manifests the most consideration and magnanimity.

I know that we are sometimes hampered by

party organizations. A fundamental fact, a necessity in the life of a government by the people is organization into parties of those who agree upon certain lines of conduct. As individual members of a party we cannot dictate its policy in all things. It may be duty to choose between two parties, each of which does some things which do not accord with our judgment. It may be a choice between two evils; and this sometimes where matters of gravest importance are involved. A notable instance is found in the recent campaign. Republicans, like Senator Hoar, though strongly opposed to the attitude of the present Republican Administration in respect to the Philippine Islands, earnestly supported its continuance in power because they believed greater evils would result from the success of Mr. Bryan. Others, like Governor Boutwell, pursued an opposite course. No one can doubt the sincerity, the patriotism, the devotion to duty of either. They agreed on one thing. They differed as to the remedy. So will it often be with the most conscientious men.

Lecky, the historian, speaking of a similar situation in the English Parliament, says:

"Every one who is actively engaged in politics—every one especially who is a member of the House of Commons—must soon learn that if the absolute independence of individual judgment were pushed to its extreme, political anarchy would ensue. The complete concurrence of a large number of independent judgments in a complicated measure is impossible. If party government is to be carried on, there must be, both in the Cabinet and in Parliament, perpetual compromise. The first condition of its success is that the Government should have a stable, permanent, disciplined support behind it, and in order that this should be obtained the individual member must, in most cases, vote with his party. Sometimes he must support a measure which he knows to be bad, because its rejection would involve a change of government which he believes would be a still greater evil than its acceptance, and in order to prevent this evil he may have to

vote a direct negative to some resolution containing a statement which he believes to be true. At the same time, if he is an honest man, he will not be a mere slave of party. Sometimes a question arises which he considers so supremely important that he will break away from his party and endeavor at all hazards to carry or to defeat it."

As Lecky suggests in this last sentence, there are times when one must rightfully break away from party, and either join the opposition or aid in the formation of a third party. This, although inconsiderable in numbers, may be a protest challenging attention and resulting in great good. Ordinarily it is better to work within a party than against it, though there are exceptions to the rule. For years the Abolitionists were an insignificant handful, and yet their separate action was a constant protest, which prevented the question of slavery from being ignored, and which in the end led to its overthrow. Like John the Baptist, they were ridiculed, condemned, pictured as clothed with

camel's hair and a girdle about the waist, but, like John the Baptist, they were a voice in the wilderness. It may well be doubted whether the same result would have followed had they retained their relations to either of the great parties of the day.

So to-day the Prohibition party is a constant protest. We may think its policy unwise; that its action tends more to continue than to overthrow the liquor traffic. Whatever we may think of the effect of its action in temporary results, the beautiful motto which Frances Willard bequeathed as her legacy to the world, "For God and home and native land," is like the voice of the Baptist, "repent ye; repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; and that party's protest and unpractical action may yet prove the forerunner of a new dispensation.

The constant effort of the individual to create a higher thought in the nation will surely find large results in its life. The new century finds us face to face with new conditions. We are, whether wisely or unwisely, placed in con-

tact with and given control over large bodies of comparatively uncivilized peoples. Shall we repeat our dealings with the Indians of North America, and have at the end of this hundred years a second edition of "A Century of Dishonor," or shall justice, honesty, and righteousness illumine all our association with them, and thus they be led willingly, joyfully, into the glorious life of a better civilization?

The commercial activity of this nation is increasing with wonderful rapidity. No lover of his country cares to stay that activity. Rather let it go on, and in its peaceful flow bring us into intimate relations with all nations, and in that growing intercourse give increased demand and greater remuneration for our products, industry, and inventive skill. It is pleasing to notice, and that too even in the proceedings of Congress, the indications of a growing feeling that there shall be a moral element in such commercial activity, and that the best development of our commercial supremacy excludes from its scope opium and rum. Commerce, to bless us, must bless the nations and the peoples with whom we deal.

Nineteen centuries ago there broke upon the startled ears of Judea's shepherds watching their flocks beside the village of Bethlehem the only angel's song ever heard by the children of earth:

It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold:
"Peace on the earth, good-will to men
From heaven's all gracious king."

Though nineteen centuries have passed away, still the war-song is sung, the war-drums speak, and the prophetic day seems far off in the future. But the day will come, and all hail to the nation and the men who strive to bring it nearer. While our national life has not been clear it may truthfully be said to its glory that this Republic has been among the foremost nations to speak for peace and to plead for melioration of the hardships of war so long as war shall last. One of the first treaties we made (the Jay treaty of '94 with England) stipulated for protection to individuals in case of war, and from that time on in our treaties and

negotiations with other nations we have constantly striven to at least soften its hardships. We have entered into more arbitration arrangements than any other nation. We have sought to introduce arbitration into the life of the world. We stood shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain in the recent Peace Conference at the Hague, the most urgent for those stipulations which tend to prevent the recurrence of war. It is and must be the dream of the future that this nation, baptized from its infancy into the gospel of the Prince of Peace, should take the lead in all efforts in that direction. It is the solemn call to every citizen, and especially to the young, who must soon bear the burdens of national life, to do that which lies within their power to make peace, first, the law of this nation, and, second, the law of the world. There never was a time when public opinion was more potent. And if the accumulating voice of public opinion within this Republic shall proclaim its adherence to the principles of peace, other nations will heed and follow. And the time will come—

" When the whole world gives back the song
Which now the angels sing."

Young gentlemen, you are the sons of Yale. Doubtless, the handful of ministers who placed a few books on a table to signify the beginning of a college, did not foresee how during the two succeeding centuries their venture would grow into this grand university. But they laid the foundations in the belief that during all its years it would be true to the purposes of usefulness for which it was founded, and would fit the young for public employment in church and civil state. And in her long history Yale has never proved false to those purposes. Out from these halls have gone a mighty multitude who, scattered through the length and breadth of the land, have done noble service in uplifting the life of both church and state. In all departments of public service her sons have been found, and before their eyes have glowed the bright ideals of a better life in the nation. Ever have they striven to take the great national heritage they received from their fathers, and pass it on to their children a nobler heri-

tage, blessed and beautified by their toils and fidelity. Their blood has crimsoned many a field of battle, as they died for liberty and union. In the councils of the nation they have spoken words which have been strong for truth and righteousness. They have sat in the judicial tribunals, and their judgments have looked forward, as they strove to make plain the ways of the law. In all departments of industrial and commercial activity they have been numbered among the leaders. In school and college and university they have passed on to countless multitudes the learning and wisdom gathered in this great home of knowledge. From the pulpit they have spoken words of comfort and hope, and striven in ten thousand ways to make life sweeter because purer.

In the shadow of the achievements of these who have gone before you, in the presence of all the precious memories of the past, you, young gentlemen, stand to-day facing the great possibilities of life in the new century. Will you be recreant to the past of old Yale, or will you stand in the future firm for all those things

which make for the better life of the nation? Will you go on in your various walks in life ever pleading for the higher things, strong for truth, justice, purity and righteousness, and rejoicing evermore in the sweet thought that—

Grand and hale are the elms of Yale,
Like Angels bending o'er you.